India

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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE latest official telegram regarding the course of the famine is dated Monday last, and reports a total of 460,000 persons in receipt of relief as compared with 446,000 in the preceding week. It may be well to set out the figures for both weeks in tabular form:—

	Telegram Dated May 28.	Telegram Dated June 3.
Bombay	353,000	... 366,000
Bombay Native States ...	41,000	... 33,000
Baroda	26,000	... 26,000
Haidarabad	14,000	.. 23,000
Madras	5,000	... 5,000
Central India States ...	6,000	... 5,000
Central Provinces	1,000	... 2,000
Total	446,000	... 460,000

It will be seen that while the figures for Baroda and Madras remain stationary—a circumstance which may or may not indicate the absence of reports—there have been increases during the week of 13,000 in Bombay, 9,000 in Haidarabad, and 1,000 in the Central Provinces. On the other hand there have been decreases of 8,000 in the Bombay Native States, and 1,000 in the Central India States. The net increase during the week is 14,000.

We must look, as usual, to the overland mail for details about the famine. The "Times of India," we see, estimates that the expenditure on relief amounts to not less than ten lakhs a month. The estimate, however, appears on May 18, when the numbers on relief were considerably less. Let us say once more how imperative it is that the House of Commons, now that it has re-assembled after its ill-earned Whitsuntide holiday, should vote a substantial grant towards the relief funds. We commend the matter to those members who are "Imperialist" enough to give a thought to India. We hope, too, that there will be some prompt enquiry about the publication of the report of the Famine Commission. We gather from the overland mail that the report was completed at Naini Tal a month ago—on May 8. There is no good reason why the Blue Book should not have been already in the hands of Parliament and the Press. The Simla correspondent of the "Times," it will be remembered, telegraphed on May 20 that the immediate publication of the report was "unlikely" as "it will form the subject of a Government resolution also to be forwarded to the Secretary of State." Our Bombay correspondent, in the communication printed elsewhere, suggests another reason. The Bombay Government, it is thought, is anxious to legislate with haste in order to anticipate the scathing criticisms of the Famine Commission upon the Bombay revenue system. But this apparently is mere rumour, and is not to be accepted without reserve. What is certain is that the suppression of the report is well calculated to encourage rumours of the kind.

We give on another page a brief statement regarding the preliminary conference which is to be held this (Friday) afternoon at the Westminster Palace Hotel, with a view to the formation of a Provisional Committee of the Indian Famine Union.

With every wish not to appear ungracious, one must confess to some little surprise at Lord Curzon's article in the "Nineteenth Century," from which some passages are given on another page. That the late Queen should be suitably commemorated in India, where she was loved and revered by so many millions of simple hearts, goes without saying. But one must beware of the fallacy of supposing that therefore any scheme which claims to commemorate her calls for instant acceptance. The truth is, of course, that such schemes will be, and ought to be, scrutinized with a jealousy proportionate to the respect in which her memory is held. Lord Curzon's zeal, here as elsewhere, is beyond praise. But his interesting article raises two questions—can it be said that the proposed Victoria Hall will be solely, or ever chiefly, a memorial to the late Queen? And is the proposed expenditure of time and money quite warrantable in existing circumstances? Our own view has always been—and Lord Curzon's article rather confirms it—that a beautiful personal memorial of the Queen might be set up in India at a modest cost, and that the bulk of any Memorial Fund should be devoted to philanthropic work among some of the destitute millions of the country. Is it not manifest that the Queen herself, who was in the true sense charitable, would have preferred a memorial of this kind to one which makes such heavy demands upon purses and energies needed for other work?

We print elsewhere the extremely able and important letter which Lord George Hamilton has sent to Sir Alfred Hickman with reference to the execution of certain contracts placed by Indian railway companies with American firms. The gist of the matter is contained in a single paragraph:—

> You seem to think that orders have only gone abroad because those who gave them did not understand their business. I wish that it were so. The competition we have to face is founded on something much more formidable and substantial. Chemical research, concentration of capital, thorough technical education, improved industrial organization, have made in recent years greater advance in America than here; it is with the product of these combinations and not with the assumed stupidity of Indian officials that the British engineer has to contend.

Lord George Hamilton undertakes, however, "that the preference, unless the difference in price, quality, and delivery be very substantial, will always be given to British firms." The "Times" observes that "it is at least certain that British manufacturers ought neither to expect nor to seek a greater degree of favour than this promise implies." Why should there be any favour at all? The Indian railway companies, and the taxpayers upon whom they fall back, are not in a position to bestow favours.

The topic attracted a good deal of attention in the British Press at the end of last week. One cannot help noticing, indeed, that an Indian topic which directly and palpably concerns some British interest receives prompt and adequate notice at the hands of the press and the public in this country, while what are called "mere Indian questions"—that is, questions which go to the very root of the British Empire—are too often neglected. This, to be sure, is human nature. But it is not quite creditable to public insight and foresight, and perhaps it is not without a bearing upon the discharge by England of her duties as trustee for India.

The "Times" of May 31 contains an interesting account of the taking of the Indian Census. It seems to be only an event of that sort which recalls to the English mind the position of India in the British Empire. The "Times" reminds its readers that though it is true that the British Empire contains one-fourth of the world's population, yet this proud position is entirely owing to the

inclusion of India, four out of every five British subjects being natives of that country. To those who know how persistently the "Times" and its friends have attributed all the ills of India to over-population, one remark stands out as an extraordinary confession. We are now told that as there have been only three general censuses, including the one just taken, "it is impossible to say what increase of population might reasonably be expected in a decade." Yet this and many other inferences were fearlessly drawn by the apostles of the theory of over-population when there were only two general censuses to base their calculations upon. When the evidence is in favour of that theory, a little of it becomes very convincing. When the evidence is against the theory, it is always insufficient.

The election of a member of the Bombay Legislative Council which is about to take place in Guzerat has produced an extraordinary and most welcome agreement between the Indian and Anglo-Indian newspapers. As in some golden age, the lion lies down with the lamb, and the "Times of India" joins with the "Mahratta" in calling for the re-election of Mr. Gokuldas Parakh. The former paper declares that "if ever a Legislative Councillor deserved the continued confidence of his constituency," he deserves that of the Guzerat municipalities. He more than any one else has brought to light "the irregularities and oppressions practised by the Revenue subordinates in the Broach and Surat Districts." Day after day he appeared in court whilst the Commission of Enquiry was sitting, at great sacrifice both personal and professional, rendering great services alike to the Government and the rayats. And to "this sturdy old worker in the cause of justice" any subsequent reduction in the burden of the cultivators and any check to the harshness of the minor officials must be attributed. With all this the "Mahratta" declares itself in complete agreement.

The "Speaker" publishes the following sonnet by Mr. William Watson, "To one espousing unpopular truth":—

> Not yet, dejected though thy cause, despair,
> Nor doubt of Dawn for all her laggard wing.
> In shrewdest March the earth was mellowing,
> And had conceived the Summer unaware.
> With delicate ministration, like the air,
> The sovereign forces that conspire to bring
> Light out of darkness, out of Winter Spring,
> Perform unseen their tasks benign and fair.
> The sower soweth seed o'er vale and hill,
> And long the folded life waits to be born;
> Yet hath it never slept, nor once been still:
> And clouds and suns have served it night and morn;
> The winds are of its secret council sworn;
> And Time and nurturing Silence work its will.

A sketch of "India in the Nineteenth Century" by Mr. Demetrius C. Boulger (London: Horace Marshall and Son) may give a very general view to persons wholly ignorant of the subject, but needs to be read with care. The high political and the military movements occupy the main space, and indeed there is very little to suggest internal development, except praise of the British Indian Government and its officers, supported by a minimum of detail. The causes of the successive wars and annexations will have to be examined elsewhere, for Mr. Boulger, except in the case of the Mutiny, promptly accepts the most superficial views. Sometimes, indeed, the vigilant reader may be struck with a suspicion. Thus, Mr. Boulger says the Rani commenced the first Sikh war by a movement which "was really due to her own fears," and two sentences later he tells us that "English troops had been stationed for some time near the frontier, in anticipation of trouble." This seems curiously parallel to the outbreak of the present South African war. Again, Mr. Boulger has nothing but approval for Dalhousie's insistence on the assignment of the Berars; he would evidently have preferred the execution of the earlier purpose of annexation. When he has studied the history of this question in the Blue-Books and the personal correspondence of the time, it will be a trial even of his courage to stand by his present opinion.

Liberals have a right to resent Mr. Boulger's assertion, with regard to the British advance into Afghanistan after the massacre of the Kabul Mission in September 1879, that "if Mr. Gladstone had been Premier and Lord Ripon Viceroy at the moment, they would have acted in precisely the same way." He forgets that these statesmen would never have created the situation that rendered it necessary to demand satisfaction. As to the material progress of India under the Crown, we are assured of "the lightness of the taxation on land," "a gratifying and creditable improvement in the position and rights of the peasant proprietor," and "the cheapening of salt in price and the provision of that article in sufficient quantities to reach every household in India." Mr. Boulger is for a bold railway policy—"railways provide the only weapon for coping with famines," while they are the only outlets for trade East and West—as if the highest authorities had not stated that no more railways are needed to cope with famine. Famine indeed does give him temporary pause, but in any case "the cause of famine must be sought elsewhere than in the detection of flaws in the policy and proceedings of the Government of India"! It is something, however, that "it is clear that a perfect famine policy must include reserves of food in public or State granaries." Indeed, "the Government of India will have to radically change the policy it has hitherto followed," not merely as to famine but generally. But of one thing Mr. Boulger is sure: "in whatever direction it may have to be enlarged or strengthened, we must hope that it will not be in the direction of the National Congress, which is worked by wirepullers who represent the most hostile classes in India to our rule." Such is the ignorant balderdash provided by Mr. Boulger for the enlightenment of the British public on the gravest of the problems that confront them.

In the June number of "Blackwood" an old-time officer of the North-West Frontier, stimulated by Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich's recent book, recalls experiences at Bannu in the sixties and seventies, illuminating them with a grim humour which accords well with the situation. These were rough and ready times on the border. We get glimpses of John Nicholson, who had been Deputy Commissioner at Bannu, and who, the writer says, most approved "thirty strokes with a rattan, laid on with the swing of a good drive at golf," as "the form of expiation for common felonies, and even misdemeanours." The ill-fated Colonel Colley, Lord Lytton's military adviser, also comes on the scene, flashing along the North-West Frontier on a tour of inspection. The writer says:—

> Instead of asking questions and collecting information, he gave forth instructions and views with an assurance which perplexed senior officers, but delighted young fire-eaters. On one occasion, discoursing on the conduct of frontier expeditions, he maintained that one regiment of Piffer (that is, Punjab Irregular Frontier Force) infantry could move anywhere in the hills and overcome any tribal resistance that might be offered. "But what of supplies and the line of communications?" asked his host, the late Colonel A. A. Munro, a canny Scot. "The troops could carry the first and do without the second" was the off-hand answer. Colonel Munro shook his head dissentingly and turned the conversation. Though many of us who met Colonel Colley thought that if his responsible advice resembled his irresponsible talk he would prove a dangerous adviser to our new Viceroy, there was one subject on which we all agreed with him: he condemned the "close border" system root and branch.

A glimpse of General Roberts shows a notable contrast. He "sought information from all men, but reserved his own opinions"; and he "was full of kindly feeling for every one."

The writer in "Blackwood" gives several examples of "strong acts of authority initiated and carried out on his own responsibility by a frontier district officer," the last being a tolerably daring one by Colonel Macaulay, early in the Afghan War of 1878, in Dera Ismail Khan. The casualties of the recalcitrant Khankhels "were, I think, eighty-three"—out of "perhaps a hundred men." This has an ugly look, but the writer says:—

> Had the crisis overcome by Colonel Macaulay on his own responsibility in 1878 occurred twenty years later, we may be certain there would have been discussion, vacillation, and concession, followed probably by an outbreak which would have necessitated an expedition.

The case is emphasised for contrast with the events of 1897-98 on the Peshawar frontier. The Tirah campaign? "Officially it was successful, and the diplomacy leading up to it 'correct': in reality it had only been a triumph of endurance for the troops." And the gist of the contrast is this:—

It demonstrates that the excessive diffusion of authority which roundabout centralisation necessitates paralyses action in a time of public danger, and, when shame and disaster result as a consequence, constrains a Government, composed of otherwise honourable men, to resort to unworthy devices in order to hoodwink the public and suppress the truth.

See the Blue-book (East India, North-West Frontier, 1901), and compare the actual facts and the expert opinion —e.g., Colonel Holdich's. The writer points to clear gains from the erection of the new Province, but "there is one clear loss, which perhaps more than counterbalances the gain from concentration of authority"—the loss of the advice of such "an experienced and disinterested expert" as the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

The Simla correspondent of the "Daily Mail" sends an article replying to certain French criticisms upon the behaviour of some of the British Indian troops in China. He says:—

It was at first inconceivable to our Allies that Native troops could equal and even surpass European soldiers in bravery and endurance. A French officer in China once remarked that it was almost an impertinence on the part of Great Britain to have sent out a contingent of Native troops when every other nation was represented by picked Europeans.

But after witnessing the part played by these same Native troops, some of our Allies had another story to tell, witness the Russian General Linievitch who remarked, on the eve of the triumphal march through the Forbidden City, "How I envy England's possession of these magnificent Asiatics."

The Koderma shooting case has terminated in the acquittal of the accused. It will be remembered that certain Indians after a marriage feast entered the compound of Mr. Whyte, a mica miner, in order to worship a sacred tree. This annoyed Mr. Whyte, who sent his two assistants to order them to leave. An altercation ending in a struggle took place, and eventually Mr. Whyte fired, wounding one of his assistants and killing two of the worshippers. As Mr. Whyte was of British birth, the case was tried by the High Court at Calcutta, and the jury, which consisted of four Europeans and a Parsee, unanimously acquitted the accused, who had pleaded that he acted in self-defence. He was accordingly at once discharged.

The question as left to the jury by the learned judge turned entirely on whether at the time of firing the shots the circumstances justified the accused in believing that he or his friend was in serious danger, and this the verdict of the jury declared to be the case. The trial took up five days, but many of the subjects touched upon in the evidence did not concern the point which the jury had ultimately to decide. Whether the marriage guests were excited and uproarious, whether Mr. Whyte was justified in resenting their choosing his compound as the scene of their devotions, and whether, even if justified, it was wise and kindly in him to resent their intrusion so strongly, were questions it did not, as matters turned out, fall to the jury to determine. Did he believe and reasonably believe that he was in danger at the time he fired was the question really left to the jury—not whether his previous conduct had been wise or unwise, generous or the reverse.

A Calcutta journal draws attention to an incidental circumstance in this case—the hardship inflicted upon the Indian witnesses. The tragedy, for so it must be called, however innocent of any criminal intention the parties may have been, took place in the Hazaribagh district, which is a considerable distance from Calcutta. But as Mr. Whyte enjoyed the privilege of trial by the High Court, to that city all the witnesses had to come. "We are starving here," one of them declared. Nay, more, the time they had to spend in Calcutta was just the time when they ought to have been sowing their corn at home. It is to be feared that the lands of some of them will remain unsown, and thus they are not only in want now but will be in a still worse plight hereafter.

The able and conscientious men who preside over the work of the great Missionary Colleges in India must often find themselves in a sad dilemma. Let them confine themselves to the imparting of a sound education in Western learning, and they will find their lecture halls thronged by attentive and grateful pupils, while they are themselves surrounded by the respect of the whole Indian community. But it must at times seem doubtful to them and still more to their friends and supporters at home whether the true end of missionary enterprise is the teaching of English literature and modern science. No doubt to some whole-hearted believers in the close connexion between Christianity and enlightenment the contradiction is not apparent. To educate is to Christianise. But experience hardly bears this theory out. And yet if the theory does not hold the teacher must feel that he is ceasing to do the work of a missionary. And if, to avoid this, he tries to make his teaching a means of direct proselytism, he will soon have but few pupils to teach.

But if the position is difficult and unsatisfactory to the heads of Missionary Colleges in India, it seems utterly bad to zealous Christians from England who perceive only one side of the case. Mr. Henry Varley, a preacher of some note in certain religious circles, has recently been denouncing at Aberdeen the Madras Christian College. As a result of a visit, he came to the conclusion that though admirably efficient as an educational institution, it was "absolutely useless" and "an egregious failure" as a missionary agency. The Indian teachers made no pretence of any interest in Christianity, while among the students there had not been a single conversion in ten years. To this, we learn from the "Friend of India," Professor Meston has replied that during the seven years he has been connected with the College seven students have been baptised. Nevertheless, it is true, in spite of the Professor, that the ordinary work of a College and religious proselytism cannot well go on together.

It is pleasant to find that many of the Indian journals contain an excellent report of proceedings in both Houses of Parliament relating to India, nor is our pleasure diminished by the fact that the report is "lifted" bodily from our columns. It is usual, however, in such cases to acknowledge the source—a courtesy which some of the journals in question accidentally omit. We have no doubt that the matter needs only to be brought to their notice in order to repair the omission.

We do not quite see why Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh's able address "for the anniversary of Comte's death" (Calcutta: S. K. Lahiri and Co.), which was read before the Indo-Positivists on September 5, 1897, should have been so long in reaching us. Belated as it is, however, we are glad to welcome it. The subject is "The Hindu Theocracy: how to further its ends," and it throws an instructive light on the mental movement in progress in certain highly-educated circles. The Indo-Positivists aim mainly at clearing up their relations with the Hindu or Brahmanic society; their chief question is "which way Brahmanic progress may well be set to move." Mr. Ghosh thinks that "the Positivist doctrine is competent to find a leaven for the Moslem and the Christian faiths, while for immediate applications of that doctrine in India the evolution of Brahmanism has to be taken on hand only for wise direction." He discusses the practical bearing of the doctrine on worship (Shradda), marriage and the family, law (and especially the law of succession), custom, and morals. There is much striking matter in the address, however much or little the reader may be disposed to accept the argument. Another thick pamphlet by Mr. Ghosh on "Brahmanism and the Sudra or Hindu Labour Problem" (Calcutta: the City Book Society) raises many points of importance and contains many shrewd suggestions, but it would be more effective with English readers unacquainted with Indian life and social history if it were more precise in statement and fuller in detail.

SOME LESSONS OF THE PENNELL CASE.

THE departure of Mr. Pennell from India and the consequent removal of his personality from the original scene of conflict render this an opportune moment for a consideration of his case in its larger issues. There are, indeed, so many painful and discreditable circumstances surrounding it, so much that is unworthy of the reputation of British justice, and so much that gives us cause to fear for the future, that there is no little temptation to leave the subject untouched. Nor would the wrongs of Mr. Pennell be in themselves enough to overcome this reluctance; for in his conduct of the case, our admiration for his courage, his pertinacity, and his unflinching devotion to what he believed to be the cause of truth and righteousness, is too often overcast by his errors of temper and of judgment, and by his fatal want of a sense of proportion. But such contests as this cannot be decided by weighing the merits and demerits of individuals. Underneath these things great principles are at stake. If we now return to this subject, it is from no desire to inflame animosities. Our view of the merits of the conflict has been already fully stated. It is rather to draw some lessons to guide conduct in the future, to gain some light on the problems of Indian government, that we once more address ourselves to a consideration of the case.

We begin with the question of machinery—not because that is the most fundamental of the questions raised, but because the machinery of government in India under one important aspect has long been in debate, and it is precisely under this aspect that the Pennell case gives most light. The separation of executive and judicial functions has long been urged by reformers. But two years ago a weighty memorial was presented to the Secretary of State for India signed by many eminent men who had held high judicial office in that country. The opponents of such a separation have hardly ventured to deny its abstract propriety. They have contented themselves with denying that the present system has any practical inconveniences, or that it is likely ever to work injustice. Now to this optimistic view the Pennell case is a difficulty. In the first case which brought Mr. Pennell's name before the public, the assault on Narsingh Singh by two officials, the prosecution of the injured man, his unjust conviction, and his subsequent vindication by Mr. Pennell, the evils of this confusion of executive and judicial powers were obvious and admitted. They were pointed out at the time in these columns, and it is unnecessary to go over them again. It is sufficient to consider the later course of events, from which the same lesson can be deduced—not perhaps in so plain a way and to so ample an extent, but sufficiently to give fresh and powerful support to the plea for judicial officers entirely apart from the Executive.

As we have already stated, we do not intend to go to the Chupra case for our instances, nor to the details of the Noakhali case, but rather to take the broad facts of Mr. Pennell's career since he became famous through the Chupra judgment. It is said that a great judge, the late Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, refused a peerage, offered to him some time after he had reached the Bench, because it seemed to him to be dangerous for a judge to be in a position to receive any favour from the Government. But in India all the magistracy below the judges of the High Courts are at the mercy of the Executive. Mr. Pennell at Chupra exposed a monstrous abuse, and righted a monstrous wrong. The Government of India admitted in a Resolution that he had been the means of rescuing an innocent man from an unjust sentence. But he saw almost all those who had been concerned, if not in the iniquity itself, then in shielding its perpetrators, promoted and cherished by the Government of Bengal, while he was transferred, as though he deserved punishment, to one of the worst districts in the Province. There, racked by illness, he was kept to measure the results of blaming the officers of the Executive. There he might ponder over the virtues of those who either disregarded the matter of a judgment because it was faulty in form, or were more angry at the exposure of official errors than at the crushing of a foul conspiracy.

But this was not all. Mr. Pennell managed to persuade himself that some expressions which Sir John Woodburn let fall were intended to intimidate him from doing his duty as a judge. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal is a man who has won the affection of his people, an affection which he has retained in spite of the fact that his term of office has been marked by some unpopular acts, and it will never be believed that his words were really intended to intimidate. But it is one of the evil effects of the present confusion of the powers, in which the career of a judge depends upon the view that is taken of his conduct by officers of the Executive, that a mere statement of opinion or the casual offering of friendly advice may be easily mistaken for the utterance of a threat. Mr. Pennell had already experienced the effects of the bad opinion in which he was held by his official superiors; for in spite of disclaimers, a comparison of dates makes it almost impossible to doubt that the Chupra judgment was connected with his transfer to Noakhali. Is it, therefore, wonderful that in every word of his superiors he should see danger? And whatever the character of the man, a judge exposed to such experiences as Mr. Pennell could hardly fail to be demoralised. One who was weak—even if, in a moment of exaltation at finding it in his power to right a great wrong, he manfully pursued the path of justice, and smote the wrongdoers on every side—even if he did that, would when he found how he was requited be inclined to avoid offence in the future and sink to the level of a quiet acquiescence when official laxity or official wrongdoing was brought to his notice. Others of a stronger mould would tend after such an experience to become obstinate and defiant, to suspect most officials of abusing their authority, and to take an exaggerated view of official delinquencies. If with this strength of character there should be combined all the nervous irritation that comes of prolonged bodily ill-health we must expect to meet with those extravagances which marred the Noakhali judgment and gave so much amusement to those who only looked on the surface of the great questions raised in the case.

And this brings us to another point. If the power of the Executive over judicial officers raised such suspicions in the mind of Mr. Pennell, if such temptations were held out to judges to stifle a too sturdy independence, seeing what was the effect of the Chupra judgment on Mr. Pennell's career, what suspicions may be aroused among the public? It is said, in the memorial already referred to, that the present system is objectionable, not only because it may produce actual cases of injustice, but because "the general administration of justice is subjected to suspicion," and thereby "the strength and authority of the Government are seriously impaired." When it is found that Executive officers, as in the Chupra case, sit on the bench and claim to advise the magistrate, or when, as in the subsequent career of Mr. Pennell, it is found that a judge can be, or at least can appear to be, punished for the judgment he has given, it is impossible but that suspicions of this kind will grow strong. It matters not that the Executive officer might be more competent to try the case than the magistrate, or that the judge's judgment may have been ill-considered or erroneous. Suspicion will nevertheless arise. Even if these interferences in a particular case prevented injustice, it will still be true that they would undermine the confidence of the people.

But while we consider that the most obvious moral to be drawn from Mr. Pennell's case is the necessity for a separation of executive and judicial functions, it is nevertheless true that there is a deeper moral still. Changes of machinery are of little use save in so far as they make right action easier, and wrong-doing more difficult. The fundamental evil which lies at the root both of the Chupra scandal and the subsequent treatment of Mr. Pennell is a belief manifestly prevalent in some quarters that it is the duty of European officials to "hang together"—the belief that the exposure of misconduct is dearly bought at the expense of lowering the prestige of our government in India. Saint Louis, King of France, declared that if he saw a priest committing a certain offence he would throw his cloak over him to hide him. Better that vice should flourish than the Holy Church be shamed. Has the cloak of Saint Louis descended to some Indian officials? And beneath this view that our government of India must never be shamed lies the belief that India exists for its rulers, that the Indians can never reach the level of their

conquerors, or even approach it, and that it is not our business to sacrifice, in a particular case of proved misconduct, the good name of our administration to the advantage of the Indian people.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

WESTMINSTER, Thursday.

Parliament resumes its labours to-day after a recess which has been remarkable chiefly for its dulness. Controversy languishes, not because people do not feel deeply, but because the war for one reason and another still acts as a gag. At the same time a sense of unrest pervades the minds of politicians. Backed though it is by a great majority, the Government is felt to be incurably feeble. Since the farce of the reconstruction of the Cabinet, Ministers have lost the confidence of their followers. There was something in Lord Salisbury's rearrangement of offices which conveyed the impression that the Government was not intended to last. That impression has never been obliterated. To-day, when Parliament meets to resume the work of its first Session, people are asking as they were asking six months ago how long Lord Salisbury means to remain Prime Minister. Useful legislation is scarcely to be expected from a Parliament which in its first youth is already overtaken by the fears, the uncertainties, and also the decrepitude of dotage.

Two new members will take their seats within the next few days—Mr. Ormesby Gore, for Oswestry, and Mr. J. A. Pease, for Saffron Walden. Mr. Pease we know, for he sat all through the last Parliament as member for Tynemouth, and latterly acted as one of the Liberal Whips: but Mr. Ormesby Gore is altogether a novice. From Mr. Gore's success in Oswestry and Mr. C. W. Gray's defeat in Saffron Walden one might almost infer that the strongest qualification for a Tory candidate is ignorance of politics. The new member for Oswestry did not pretend to be a politician. He reminded the electors that their forefathers had been represented by his ancestors, and based his personal title to their suffrages on the circumstance that he had more than once acted as honorary secretary of a show in connexion with the Wynnstay Hunt. Mr. Gray, on the other hand, exhibited some appreciation of politics. He made an excellent candidate, and would certainly have obtained a larger poll but for his championship of the Government. Mr. Gore left the Government alone and increased the Tory majority; Mr. Gray tried to justify the Government, and was left in a more hopeless minority than before.

From the Liberal point of view, the great increase in the Saffron Walden majority is full of encouragement. The war did not enter largely into the issues of the contest. Agricultural questions were discussed, and much attention was given to the obsolete social programme of the Unionist party. Mr. Chamberlain certainly showed less than his usual astuteness in throwing over old age pensions in the crisis of the struggle. But the fatuity of the proceeding almost precluded the idea of calculation. The main lesson of the election would seem to be that Liberals when possible should fight their battles on the lines of a broad party rivalry.

Peace rumours are again in the air, due, no doubt, to the European mission of the indefatigable Mrs. Botha. One such rumour, which does not appear to have got into the papers yet, is to the effect that no less a personage than the German Emperor has been persuaded to interest himself on behalf of the Boers, and that he has even promised the young Queen of Holland to make overtures to the British Government. The story taxes one's credulity. If his Imperial Majesty has made such a promise, it can only mean that he believes his intervention would be acceptable to Downing Street. The time when the Kaiser was ambitious to be known as the Don Quixote of monarchs has gone. His ruling motive nowadays is the aggrandisement of Germany. To gain the esteem of his own people he would probably be willing enough to do the Boers a good turn, but only on condition that it involved no inconvenient complications elsewhere.

A fine type of Conservative has passed away in Colonel V. E. W. Milward, who only ten days before his unexpected and regretted death spoke with his accustomed vigour in the Parliamentary debate on the Budget Bill. Like other Ministerialists Colonel Milward was quite alive to the imperfections of the Treasury Bench. He voted with his party with undeviating loyalty, but the last speech he made was a criticism of the new fiscal proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. His death causes a vacancy in the representation of Stratford-on-Avon. The seat is supposed to be safe for the Government. It has always returned a Conservative member, and at the last contested election Colonel Milward's majority was nearly two thousand. Nevertheless, the Liberals are contemplating an attack on the citadel.

Should the proposal to confer the freedom of the City of London on Lord Milner be brought before the Corporation, it will meet with a determined opposition. Several members were sounded on this subject some time ago, when the suggestion was received so coldly that the promoters of the movement deemed it prudent to proceed no further. Evidently, they have been induced to make another and a bolder attempt to carry out their design. It is said that persons high in authority are, for political reasons, eager to see Lord Milner honoured in the city. They will doubtless achieve their desire, but not without a discussion which, for political reasons, it might be wiser not to provoke. Those who are opposed to the proposal assume that attitude not because of any hostility to Lord Milner's policy in South Africa, but on the ground that hitherto the honours of the City of London have been reserved for deeds accomplished. Lord Milner should wait like Lord Roberts till the war is over before accepting the laurels of victory.

Sarah Bernhardt is again with us, offering fresh proofs of her versatility by appearing as the hero of M. Rostand's Napoleonic drama, "L'Aiglon." The great actress is evidently in the plenitude of her powers. She plays the part of a frail youth of nineteen or twenty with consummate address. Her voice is mellower than in earlier years, and its deep contralto notes are heard to advantage in the enunciation of Rostand's sonorous lines. Another theatrical event of the week has been the production of Mrs. T. P. O'Connor's new play, "The Lady from Texas." It is a clever but amateurish piece of work, and will probably enjoy a sufficient measure of popular favour to encourage Mrs. O'Connor to try again. Her satire of the ways of society shows a keen sense of humour, but her leading idea—that of making a lady-killer propose to every woman he meets in identically the same words—has already been used by Mr. W. S. Gilbert in "Engaged," and also to some extent by Mr. Barrie in one of his most recent novels. All the parts are well played, though in some instances the spirit of burlesque rises to a height which would scarcely be permissible if the play were in truth what it pretends to be—an essay in pure comedy.

NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

MR. PENNELL'S DEPARTURE.

THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL ACT.

THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT AND THE FAMINE COMMISSION.

[FROM AN INDIAN CORRESPONDENT.]

BOMBAY, May 18.

The news of the week is the departure of Mr. Pennell from these shores on May 16. The "Advocate of India" published an interview with him from which it is clear that he has a courageous spirit that will not flinch. It was given out, with what truth I cannot say, that a telegram had been sent to him stating that it was a breach of rule to depart for Europe without permission. But if any such telegram was received, Mr. Pennell treated it with contempt. As for breaches of rules, there is a Government Resolution, published and republished, which prohibits Government officials from accepting entertainments. But the rule is "more honoured in the breach than the observance." Mr. Pennell has risen above cant. He has been fearless in calling a spade a spade.

One now hears a dolorous cry over the new Calcutta Municipal Act. After running down the old organisa-

tion, which had rendered valuable service to the city, and after abusing the men who took an active part in bringing the city to a sanitary condition unknown during the official regime, the wreckers have now come to their senses. They desiderate the old Corporation. How swiftly has Nemesis overtaken them! The cry is that the city has been worse served by the new organisation, and that it is essential to amend the new Act, only a year old, and bring it into line with that of the Bombay Corporation. What a revolution of thought! Those who sang the virtues of the new Act are now the foremost to sing its dirge. Let us see how Sir John Woodburn will respond.

We are threatened in Bombay with a tinkering of the Land Revenue Code, and, strange to say, for the first time in the legislative history of this Presidency, a meeting of the Council has been summoned at Mahableshwar. Non-official members are wondering at this move. They ask why they should be requested to proceed to Mahableshwar on May 30 when a week later the Government is bound to re-assemble in Poona. The "quidnuncs" allege urgency. But non-official members have not heard of anything that should cause the Government to summon them to a place more known for official picnics than for public works, and that, too, at a time when the officials are on the eve of descending to the plain. It is said, however, that Sir Antony MacDonnell's scathing report on the Bombay revenue system is to be immediately published, and that the Bombay Government is anxious to forestall him by legislation.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

PIONEERS OF INDUSTRY.

To the Editor of "India."

Sir,—It is proposed to publish in the vernaculars short but correct accounts of those pioneers of wealth and industry in Europe and America who have so largely contributed to the well-being of their respective communities, along with accounts of the careers of those Indians who have risen in India; and to everyone in search of a career, a book like this will afford useful hints as well as stimulate rightly directed effort for the purpose. On the other hand our capitalists and men of position will also find in it hints as to how they could best use their opportunities for the service of their country.

I have already collected some material for Western countries, and some for India also, but require much more to make the book complete. May I, therefore, ask your readers to help in giving me the names, addresses, and, where possible, brief but correct accounts of the lives and careers of those Indians of their acquaintance, whether living or dead, who ought to find a place in a book like this? Yours, etc.,

BAIJ NATH,
(Judge, Small Cause Court, Agra, and General Secretary, Vaishya Maha Sabha.)

Agra, India,
May 17.

POVERTY IN INDIA.

To the Editor of "India."

Sir,—The "Globe" in its issue of May 31 says:—

"In most civilized countries women predominate to a greater or less extent, and we may expect to see many ingenious theories evolved to account for the reverse being the case in India. The feasting and dower, especially in high caste families with narrow means, often involve such ruinous outlay that the birth of an additional girl is regarded an unmixed misfortune. If she lives social prescription ordains that a husband must be secured for her in the course of a few years, and it is only too probable that the depressing outlook leads to infanticide among the poorer classes."

It would have been more to the point if it had said prosperous instead of civilized countries. If the explanation is true it is also a proof that the poverty of the Indian people is increasing. If of all the nations on earth Indian people have been thus getting rid of their female children (600,000 alone in Calcutta, Bombay, and Rangoon, taking the rate of births in both sexes as equal) we must rest assured that there is not only increasing poverty but dire distress. Supposing the reverse had been the case the people in this country would have been told that it was the beneficent result of British rule in India brought about by the suppression of female infanticide. It is surprising that it is not explained away on the line that the "Spectator" took about the reduction of population caused by the famine. The latter in its issue of March 16 last said, "We distrust the stories now being published of the reduction of population caused in Western India by the famine." It might as well distrust the figures officially given of the number of prisoners taken in the South African war. Yours, etc.,

P. J. DAMANIA.

National Liberal Club, London, S.W.
June 3.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

460,000 ON RELIEF.

The Secretary of State for India has received the following telegram from the Viceroy, dated June 3:—

Famine. Number of persons in receipt of relief: Bombay, 366,000; Bombay Native States, 33,000; Baroda, 26,000; Haidarabad, 23,000; Madras, 5,000; Central India States, 5,000; Central Provinces, 2,000. Total, 460,000.

The "Times of India" (May 18) says that the expenditure on famine relief is probably costing the Government of India—that is, of course, the taxpayers of India—not less than ten lakhs a month.

THE REPORT OF THE FAMINE COMMISSION.

It appears from the overland mail that the Report of the Famine Commission, of which Sir Antony MacDonnell is President, was completed at Naini Tal on May 8, and the signatures of the members were appended. The "Pioneer Mail" of May 17 states that the first copies of the Report were expected to reach the Government of India within a few days from that date.

"THEY WILL BEGIN TO DIE SOON."

A certain revenue officer, formerly in one of the famine districts, where he had much to do with the relief works, and lately transferred to "a large distressed and neglected subdivision," writes in the course of a letter home:—"I am afraid they (i.e. the people) will begin to die soon. I don't think I have the time or the power to stop them here now—at least not in any right kind of way." The letter was sent from India in the first week of May.

SOME OPINIONS OF THE BRITISH PRESS.

The "Westminster Gazette."

There is no question anywhere in India that the British officials have done their duty nobly under most trying conditions. But, granting the utmost credit to the measures of relief, is it not possible for us to do something at least in the way of prevention? The Government unhappily resigns itself to the argument that it cannot control the monsoon. Still, one is not so sure that even this feat is altogether impossible; much might surely be done by reafforestation. Irrigation does not seem available throughout the whole of the districts that have recently suffered, though there must be wide room for expansion; and railways cut sharply both ways. The first, if not the only, essential would appear to be some readjustment of conditions so as to enable the rayat to withstand the onset of famine. It is now recognised that the latest big famines have been famines not of food but of money. How, then, is the rayat to be set up? There is a wide concensus of competent non-official observers that this is the key to the situation. It may be hoped that the Famine Union which Sir William Wedderburn has projected and is organising will unite politicians of all shades in pressing for a searching enquiry within a limited range, so as to find out exactly the cause of the rayat's feebleness. Why the Government should require pressure on such a matter is not readily intelligible. Perhaps the authorities mean to do things in their own way and at their own time. On Sir William Wedderburn's motion for such an "enquiry into the condition of the masses" (January 26, 1897), Lord George Hamilton admitted that "the opportunity this famine affords ought not to be allowed to pass without our taking every opportunity to enquire into and ascertain the best methods of protecting the people of India from the recurrence of similar calamities." But that was more than four years ago, and the urgency is now too clamant for soft words.—(May 30.)

THE "INVESTORS' REVIEW."

Again the Viceroy's telegram reveals an increase in the numbers of the Indian people compelled to resort to our official charity in order to escape starvation. The increase on the week is 28,000 according to the Viceroy's telegram dated May 28, the total at that date being 446,000, divided thus:—Bombay 353,000, Bombay Native States 41,000, Baroda 26,000, Hyderabad 14,000, Madras 5,000, Central India States 6,000, and Central Provinces 1,000. So it will go on, a scourge regarded by our bureaucrats and their Parliamentary superiors as a nuisance. What does it matter to them if the people of India perish with hunger so long as they can send us to sleep with optimistic budgets, postpone or stifle discussion of Indian affairs, and continue to smoothly meet the obligations of the Simla Government in London? How long can they do that?—(June 1.)

THE "BRADFORD OBSERVER."

Most mortal ills have a remedy, and notwithstanding official incredulity there is every reason to suppose that Indian famines are no exception to the rule. Artificial means of irrigation are both practicable and capable of extension. There are, moreover, a number of possible expedients tending to make the population of the famine districts less dependent upon crops or better able to sustain the losses of a disastrous season. The system of land tenure is open to improvement, and in India, as at home, the question of fair rents underlies the peasant's difficulties. The establishment of agricultural banks and the spread of technical education directed to the promotion of village industries are other practical remedies which have been proposed. But the Indian Government is apparently content to go on year after year disbursing in famine relief enormous sums which do nothing to hinder the recurrence of the evil, and do not suffice even to prevent an appalling number of deaths from famine and its resultant disease. The sums annually expended upon railways and other productive works are entirely disproportionate to the need. While the Hindus themselves have no effective control over the Government, such appeals to the India Office in this country as we have time for amid the sufficiently laborious attempts to obtain decent conditions of life for the masses of our own people fall for the most part upon deaf ears. Repeated attempts to secure an enquiry into the causes and remedies of the continually recurring famines, the most recent of which has been the most terrible, have failed. It seems to be a principle of Lord George Hamilton's administration that the less the people of this country know of India the less reason will they have to complain. Under these circumstances it is gratifying to learn that other methods are at length to be tried. In the course of next week, we learn from the current number of INDIA, a meeting is to be held in London to take preliminary steps towards the formation of an Indian Famine Union. An attempt will be made to secure a president distinguished by his knowledge both of India and of economic questions, and the Union will seek the aid of Indian experts in this country in investigating the problem in its various aspects. The Government is to be asked to grant an enquiry into the condition of the rayats in the famine districts, and after recent experiences excuses will be more than usually difficult to frame. Not the least important of the results to be hoped for is the formation of such a body of public opinion as will be able to command attention and respect.—(May 28.)

THE INDIAN FAMINE UNION.

PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE.

We have given in former issues of INDIA such particulars as were available regarding the Indian Famine Union which Sir W. Wedderburn has for some time past been engaged in organising for the special object of investigating the causes of Indian famines and possible means of prevention. As we announced a fortnight ago a preliminary Conference of a few persons having special experience of Indian affairs will be held this (Friday) afternoon with a view to the formation of a Provisional Committee. The meeting will be held at 4.30 at the Westminster Palace Hotel. Any account of the proceedings which we may be able to give is necessarily deferred until our next issue. But we may say that twenty or more gentlemen of special competence in Indian questions have been invited to attend, and that a series of important resolutions is likely to be submitted.

The first resolution may be expected to declare that in view of the sufferings of the Indian masses and the responsibility of the British people for their welfare it is desirable to form a National Union on an economic and philanthropic basis having for its special object to investigate the causes of Indian famines and to promote possible means of prevention. Another resolution will probably constitute a Provisional Committee, with power to add to their number, in order to decide what steps should be taken to constitute the Union, and to place it on a broad and practical basis. The meeting will doubtless recognise the energy and ability with which, under Lord Curzon's direction, the famine relief operations have been conducted, and will express a desire to co-operate with the Government in its efforts to deal with a great national calamity. It seems reasonable to expect also that, in view of the wide differences of opinion regarding the economic condition of cultivators in India, and the causes of their embarrassments, the Secretary of State may be approached with a request to cause detailed enquiry to be carried out in each province affected by famine, with a view to ascertain the actual condition of the cultivator, and to suggest means by which he may be enabled better to withstand the attacks of famine.

The Indian Famine Union, as Sir W. Wedderburn explained in the interview recently reported in our columns, will seek to focus the efforts of all those who are grieved for the sufferings of famine-stricken India and realise the national responsibility of England for the welfare of the Indian people. Its leading note, as we understand it, will be co-operation with the Government of India in devising means to prevent famine. There is in the United Kingdom a large number of persons including retired Anglo-Indian officials, men of business and missionaries who have special knowledge of India and retain a kindly feeling towards her people. The Famine Union will seek to utilise their experience and goodwill in practical organised work, and will also endeavour to obtain assistance and advice from leaders of economic science. To this end detailed enquiry in typical areas is a first step, and the request for an enquiry of this kind may take the form of a memorial to Lord George Hamilton. Sub-Committees may then be formed to enquire into and report upon the several methods of famine prevention which have already been suggested, such as irrigation, agricultural banks, the revival of village industries, the storage of grain, and so forth. The Union, we understand, will have no concern with methods of relief, but will confine its labours to means of prevention.

LORD CURZON ON THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL HALL.

In the "Nineteenth Century" for the current month Lord Curzon has an article upon "The Queen Victoria Memorial Hall in India." The purpose of the article is "to bespeak the attention of those friends of India at home who are likely to be interested in it to the scheme which has been started in India for commemorating her late Majesty Queen Victoria by the erection of a Memorial Hall in Calcutta, the capital of the Indian Empire."

A "HALL OF FAME."

"It is intended," Lord Curzon says, "that this hall, the central feature of which will be a representation of the late Queen, together with such memorials of her personality and reign (in connexion more particularly with India) as we are able to procure, shall also serve as a National Gallery, or Hall of Fame, in which will be collected and displayed the memorials and relics of the great men, both European and Indian, who have served this country, and of the great events which have marked its history."

The scheme, Lord Curzon admits, "had been for long in my mind." "Its general acceptability may be inferred from the fact that, within a period of two and a half months, a sum of nearly £210,000 has been subscribed on its behalf from all parts of India (assuming a limit of one lakh of rupees to be placed upon the too generous offers of certain of the Princes); and this is likely to be very materially augmented when the contributions from the provinces come in. The practical realisation of the scheme may therefore be regarded as assured; although, if it is to be executed on an adequate scale, I do not think that £300,000 will be too small a sum, and although I shall hope to make substantial progress in the direction of such a total. During the period in which plans and designs are being made, and the building erected, I shall also hope, by assiduous research and by appeals to those who are capable of rendering assistance, to lay the foundations of the collection which will, later on, be enshrined within its walls."

The Viceroy proceeds to give reasons why the proposed Hall should be in Calcutta, and not in Delhi, which "is not the capital of the Government of India." "It will need," he says,

"the most untiring activity on the part of the Viceroy to carry the plans into execution at Calcutta, where he is present for four months only in each year. It would be absolutely out of the question at Delhi, which he visits for two days once in five years."

The building, which will probably be faced entirely with white marble, is to be erected in the Maidan, at a spot to be yet determined in consultation with the architect. It will be surrounded by a beautiful public garden.

The Central Figure.

The Queen will be the central figure of the Hall. "Under a central dome, or in a central hall, will stand in all probability her effigy. Upon its marble walls will be inscribed in letters of gold, in English and in the vernaculars, the terms of her celebrated Proclamation, and of her various messages to the Indian people. Around, in cases, will be displayed objects directly connected with herself; her autograph letters, and such memorials of herself as we are fortunate enough to secure. Around this centre, or branching from it, will be a series of galleries and corridors and halls, which bring me to the secondary aspect of the scheme as a National Gallery, or Hall of Fame, for India. There can be no doubt that the addition to it of this feature, at once sentimental and utilitarian, æsthetic and practical, has stimulated the liberality of the response which has been evoked in this country. There is no country where there exists such a lamentable and appalling dearth of material for bringing the past in a visible form before the eyes of the present, for teaching the lessons of history in a concrete form, or for familiarising succeeding generations with the commanding figures and the memorable events that have preceded them."

Lord Curzon proceeds:—"No period in the history of India has been more remarkable for triumphs, both of war and peace, than the reign of the late Queen. None has been more crowded with stirring episodes, or with the deeds of famous soldiers, scholars, writers, and statesmen, and yet, beyond a few scattered statues and busts, ill seen and oft unknown, we have no visible memorials of this crowded and illustrious past. A traveller might come to India and leave it with the impression that, since the days of the great Moguls, whose tombs and temples are the wonder of the East, it had had no history that was worthy of concrete commemoration, had produced or seen no great figures, but had only been fortunate in the enjoyment of an administration which had been lavish in endowing it with law courts, town halls, educational institutions, secretariats, and gaols."

"It was obviously impossible to appeal to the Indian Princes and people for a memorial that would be exclusively devoted to the glorification of Englishmen. For such an appeal would have implied that there was nothing remarkable or memorable in India that had not been done by Englishmen—an implication that would have been both insulting and historically unjust. It was also impossible to limit the collection to the personalities or the episodes of her Majesty's reign.

"Similar considerations were held to apply to Indian history and to Indian names. Since the entire country has passed under the settled dominion of the British, less scope is afforded for those careers of prominence or adventure which were possible and frequent in times when war was as a rule proceeding in some part of the peninsula, when the country was split up into innumerable small units, and when, as the authority of the Mogul Emperor waned, any bold spirit might hope to carve a road to a kingdom or to fame. The history of the British rule in India is bound up with so many of these names that to exclude their memorials, where they are available, would be to give a one-sided view of history. If we trace back the records of British connexion with India, we of course come ultimately to a stop at the point where that history commenced at the dawn of the seventeenth century. Following the same process with Native history, we arrive at no fixed or natural starting-point until the foundation of the Mogul dynasty, by Baber, seventy years earlier. This, then, is the limit that has been tentatively accepted in respect of Indian history."

The Categories of the Collection.

Lord Curzon then adds a more or less detailed account of the scheme so far as it relates "to the perpetuation of the services and names of eminent Englishmen." The collection in the Victoria Hall is to fall into the following categories:—

1. A gallery of sculpture, in which will be collected the statues, busts, and medallions of distinguished men.

2. A gallery or galleries of paintings, engravings, prints, and pictorial representations in general, both of persons and scenes.

3. "In view of the great munificence that has been shown by the Native Chiefs in contributing to this Hall, which but for their princely donations would never come into being, I should like to create a Court, or Hall, of Princes within it, where such memorials might be collected as they were willing to offer or to lend. Statues and likenesses of notable men among them might be placed here, and might appropriately be surrounded by a collection of the arms and accoutrements—spears and battle-axes, swords, shields, horse trappings, and coats of mail—that were once the everyday furniture of their glittering courts, and many of which still survive."

4. "It should be even easier to amass a first-rate collection, in a gallery set apart for the purpose, which would furnish a complete chronological illustration of the history of British arms in India."

5. "The documentary illustration of historical events will form an important feature."

6. "Another very proper content of the Hall will be a collection of models. There are many objects of great historical interest which we either cannot procure, because they have vanished, or could not admit, because of their size and unsuitability, but which might very fitly be represented by small-scale reproductions."

7. "We shall endeavour to enhance the personal note, which is the source of so much interest in any collection, by placing in stands or cases in the various galleries the relics and trophies, the correspondence and handwriting, miniatures, articles of costume or use—in a word, the personal belongings of those who are held worthy of inclusion."

8. The walls of the galleries and corridors will be decorated by fresco paintings of famous events in Indian history.

The Viceroy next indicates the types whom it is desired to commemorate, including "Governors, Governors-General, and Viceroys, from Governor Holwell and Lord Clive to modern times." "I have not included in this list," he says, "the name of any living person, although there are several whom public opinion will rightly hold to be worthy of commemoration."

"Inspiring Lessons."

The conclusion of the article is as follows:—

"Such in rough outline is the plan of the projected Victoria Hall. How far we shall succeed in realising it will depend even more upon the attitude of others than upon the activity which we are ready to apply ourselves. The committee of the fund in India are now engaged in bringing out a journal, which will appear at intervals, and will record the progress of the scheme, and the accumulation of the collection.

"We propose to place this journal free of charge in the hands of any friend who is interested in the work. Its circulation may bring us in useful advice or offers, while the record of these will supply a basis for the future catalogue of the exhibition. A committee of distinguished Englishmen, who have served in, or been connected with, India, is also in course of formation, to help and to advise us at home. The memorials and relics that we hope to acquire by gift, by bequest, by purchase, by loan, but most of all by the first of these means, are scattered far and wide in many a private collection, in many an unknown quarter. Here in India we have not the opportunity or the knowledge thoroughly to search them out. As it is, the execution of the project, on however modest a scale, will for several years throw upon us at this distance an enormous burden of research, correspondence, and anxiety. We have not in India the learned societies, the trained experts, the wealthy collectors, the art connoisseurs, or even the personal leisure that are forthcoming in Europe. The British officers of Government are a fleeting body, and many of them are in constant movement about a continent that is as large as Europe without Russia. The daily business of Government imposes a strain that admits of little interlude or relaxation. We cannot, when we are elsewhere, run up to Calcutta by train in a few hours, as a man can do to London from almost any part of the United Kingdom. It is impossible to convene committee meetings from the four corners of so vast a continent. Even a letter to England—and we shall have to write many—will not bring a reply for five or six weeks. All these are the inevitable restrictions under which we in India shall be obliged to work. I feel, therefore, that I may, with reason and without offence, appeal to that portion of the British public which is interested in India, or has itself borne a share in its history, to assist me in this onerous task. It must be an object of desire to every Englishman that the Indian Memorial to the great and good Sovereign whom we have lately lost should be executed on a scale and in a manner worthy of her august name; and this desire will not be diminished by the consciousness that in this wonderful portion of her dominions, the core and crown of empire, the Memorial to be erected will also be one that will teach to English and to Indians alike the inspiring lessons of national pride and Imperial unity."

SOME OPINIONS OF THE BRITISH PRESS.

The "Observer."

The National Indian Memorial to Queen Victoria appears to be a singularly happy idea, elaborated in excellent taste. We think we can trace Lord Curzon's hand in various places, but we have no desire to ignore the valuable assistance he has received

from all sides. In fact, the whole scheme is so fine and so magnificent that unless it had been supported widely and heartily, it would have been impossible to realise it. The notion of a Victoria Hall, the statue of her late Majesty occupying a central position therein, with its side galleries of sculpture, paintings, engravings, arms, military trophies, etc., is most inspiriting. In England such a project would be an impossibility, owing to the vastness of the material derived from the monuments and records of many centuries. In India the original idea would seem to have been to confine the collection to what strictly pertained to the Victorian era, but, as Lord Curzon points out in his "Nineteenth Century" article, this soon proved to be impracticable, and now it seems anything worthy of being considered as a characteristic link in the chain of events from the time of the Emperor Baber will not be refused admittance. It will be a sort of National Gallery—in the wider sense—or Hall of Fame, and its historical importance ought to be of the highest, apart from all its artistic merits, which are to be made as attractive as possible. Native Princes and magnates of the past are to be duly commemorated, and many statues and other monuments now hidden away in corners in Calcutta will find a fitting home in the Victoria Hall. We heartily congratulate the Viceroy and the people of India on so noble a project and on the liberality its inception has evoked. We only wish the sister memorial in London was conceived on equally grand and comprehensive lines. We may mention, in conclusion, that the Fund have started a monthly journal, in which the future progress of the movement will be described. The April number contains an introductory memorandum, and two speeches by Lord Curzon explanatory of the scheme.—(June 2.)

THE "MORNING LEADER."

The "Nineteenth Century" for June prints a curious paper by Lord Curzon describing the Memorial Hall in Calcutta by which he proposes to commemorate Queen Victoria. One would have thought that in the present condition of India the Viceroy had more urgent work than writing for the magazines. But the effect of the article is to suggest that Lord Curzon has ample time to spare. Briefly the plan—"which had been for long in my mind"—is to set up in the Maidan at Calcutta a vast Memorial Hall, at a cost of at least £300,000, which is to be not solely nor chiefly a memorial to the late Queen but largely a "Hall of Fame" for eminent Anglo-Indians, living and dead, from the Viceroy downwards. Now the advantages which would accrue to generations of Indians from being able easily and often to contemplate the statues, the handwriting, and "articles of costume or use" of distinguished statesmen like Lord Curzon, Lord George Hamilton, and Lord Onslow are doubtless great. But surely there are two obvious objections which ought to be fatal to the scheme—we mean that neither the time nor the money can be spared for it. The money seems to have come, or to be expected, largely from the unfortunate Princes and chiefs in India. Once the scheme was announced of course they were bound to subscribe handsomely. But need it be said that the money should be spent rather upon the famine-stricken? As for the expenditure of time, let us cite a sentence or two from Lord Curzon himself:—

> I shall hope by assiduous research and by appeals to those who are capable of rendering assistance to lay the foundations of the collection. . . .
>
> It will need the most untiring activity on the part of the Viceroy to carry the plans into execution at Calcutta. . . .

One can only say emphatically that the Viceroy ought not, in the present circumstances of India, to think of devoting "assiduous research" and "untiring activity" to such a project. To recall his own forgotten words, he ought rather to take a return-ticket to the famine districts.—(June 5.)

AMERICAN FIRMS AND INDIAN RAILWAY CONTRACTS.

Lord George Hamilton has addressed the following letter to Sir Alfred Hickman, M.P.:—

Coates Castle,
May 30, 1901.

Dear Sir Alfred,—I did not know that you intended upon the motion for the adjournment of the House of Commons on the 23rd inst. to refer to the execution of certain contracts placed by Indian railway companies with American firms. I was not present when you made your speech; if I had been I should have made the reply I now send you in writing.

You start with the assumption that these contracts "are made on no business principles, are made without due regard to efficiency, public safety, or real economy." These allegations are a serious indictment of the management of Indian railways; and they carry with them the inference that the placing of the orders was not due to the ability of engineering firms in America to compete with English firms, but to the ignorance, carelessness, and partiality displayed by the railway directorate here. If your assumptions are correct the remedy is obvious—reorganise the management of Indian railways and competition between English and American engineering firms for supply of railway material in India would cease. No practical engineer who has visited the American workshops and inspected their methods of production and manufacture would for a moment endorse such a proposition. Their competition is dangerous because they are yearly improving their products both in quality and price.

It has always been the practice of the boards of management of the Indian railways to give the preference in all their contracts to British manufacturers, and that policy has so prevailed that up to the date of the great recent engineering strike no order for a railway locomotive had ever been given outside Great Britain. Since then, owing to the British workshops being blocked with work, certain Indian railway boards found it necessary, as locomotives could not be obtained here, to place a few limited orders in America. I am ready to give all the available reports concerning the working consumption of fuel and load-drawing power of these locomotives. The earlier reports were unfavourable, but when their working was better understood and alterations were made to suit the local fuel a marked improvement was noticed, so much so that one company wishes to obtain more engines of a similar construction.

That American locomotives obtained a footing in India was due to the strike I have referred to; but if, as I hope, British locomotives are for the future to regain their monopoly in that vast system of railways, the British engineers must profit by the hints and suggestions which these reports convey. In the case of the Gohteih viaduct the Burma Railway Company had no option but to place the order for its construction with the Baldwin Company, Pennsylvania. There were no British firms who had anything like the same experience in this class of bridge construction; the tender of the Baldwin Company was much less in price, and quicker in time than that of any of their competitors.

Mr. Constable, a late employee of the Burma Railway Company, and who was engaged in superintending part of the work of this bridge, reported that the riveting was defective. A most searching enquiry and inspection has in consequence been made by the chief engineers of the Burma Railway Company, assisted by the Government inspector, and they in no way endorse Mr. Constable's opinion. The Burma Railway board, composed of most competent railway experts, are satisfied that the work upon the bridge is sound and reliable. Upon them rests the responsibility of seeing that the contract in question is properly executed, and I see no reason for interference.

With one of your suggestions I entirely agree—viz., that no specification should be altered for the benefit or upon the suggestion of any one particular tenderer. If any change is made in the specification all who were originally invited to tender should be informed, and I will see that the principle is adhered to.

If I seem to combat your contention it is not because I do not heartily appreciate the object you have in view. We both wish to assist in maintaining the supremacy of the British engineer and workshops in India for the supply of all railway materials as against foreign contractors.

You seem to think that orders have only gone abroad because those who gave them did not understand their business. I wish that it were so. The competition we have to face is founded on something much more formidable and substantial. Chemical research, concentration of capital, thorough technical education, improved industrial organization have made in recent years greater advance in America than here; it is with the product of these combinations and not with the assumed stupidity of Indian officials that the British engineer has to contend.

So far as I am concerned I can undertake that the preference, unless the difference in price, quality, and delivery be very substantial, will always be given to British firms.

May I not ask you, as a leading member of the great steel industry of this country, to co-operate with me by impressing upon your associates the necessity of so meeting the competition of the future as to ensure that in price and time of delivery the advantage shall be on the side of British production?

Believe me yours, etc.,
(Signed), GEORGE HAMILTON.

Sir Alfred Hickman, M.P.

We give below a report of Sir A. Hickman's speech to which the foregoing letter refers. The speech was delivered in the House of Commons on May 23 last, on the motion for adjournment for the Whitsuntide recess:—

Sir A. HICKMAN (Wolverhampton, W.) called attention to the large purchases of railway material which were being made by railway companies under the control of the British Government, and complained that those purchases had not been made on business principles, nor with due regard to efficiency, to public safety, or to economy. He quoted various reports relating to American locomotives employed on the Burmese railway, to show that some of the details of those engines lacked

strength, that parts supposed to be of cast steel proved to be of very inferior metal and workmanship, and that repairs had been required much in excess of what were necessary in the case of locomotives received from English makers. He also quoted a report to show that the repairs to the Belgian engines on the Egyptian lines were excessive, and said that in spite of these reports these purchases were still going on. An American firm was building the Gohteih viaduct over the Burmese railway which was the highest viaduct in the world. Mr. Constable, who was appointed to inspect the viaduct, but had been superseded, and was now in this country, had declared that the bridge was unsafe, and had offered to go out without fee or reward and prove the charges he had made. Having regard to the risk to life involved, he hoped the Secretary of State for India would investigate the matter.

SIR A. HICKMAN'S REJOINDER.

Sir Alfred Hickman, M.P., has addressed the following letter to the Secretary of State for India with reference to the use of American bridges, locomotives, and railway material in India:—

22, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.,
June 3, 1901.

Dear Lord George Hamilton,—I am much obliged by your courteous reply to my speech and also for your promise that in future preference shall be given to English firms.

I am absolutely certain that this is your wish and intention, but I hope you will excuse my saying that more confidence would be felt in your subordinates' carrying out that good intention if they had not induced you to assume every point against the English manufacturer without evidence, and quietly to ignore the conclusive evidence of their own official reports.

You say that "the earlier (Burma) reports were unfavourable, but when their working was better understood and alterations were made to suit the local fuel a marked improvement was noticed."

Now, what are the facts?

The report for the last half of 1899 says:—"The 20 new engines received from the Baldwin Loco. Works on the whole are doing well. They gave much trouble at first. . . . . In coal consumption they do not compare unfavourably with our English engines."

The next report, that for the first half of 1900, says:—"We have increased the height of the fuel fence on the tenders (of the Baldwin engines) to enable them to take sufficient fuel to last between wood fuelling stations. . . . . I have taken out the consumption of all fuels for the first five months on all services. This shows that the Baldwins burnt 35.5 per cent. more per train mile and 23.5 per cent. more per vehicle mile than the English. . . . . It is therefore evident that the remark made in the last report that the Baldwins did not compare unfavourably in coal consumption was rather premature."

This appears to be in direct conflict with your statement.

The alteration appears to have been to raise the fuel fence to enable them to carry enough fuel to get from station to station!

Next, as regards the publication of the reports.

Permit me respectfully to remind you of what has taken place.

First, I asked you to publish these reports. The reply was a refusal on the ground that they were confidential.

Second, I pointed out that similar reports from the Egyptian railways were published in the "Board of Trade Journal." The answer then was that you would publish any reports that appeared likely to be useful, but that the particularly damaging report which I quoted was not at the India Office.

You now are good enough to say that you are ready to give all the available reports.

Will you kindly ask the Burma Railway officials here why the damaging report which I have quoted is not "available"? It was sent to the London office the same as the others, and, if not "available," why not?

The railway officials seem resolved to screen the Americans at all costs.

You are good enough to say that you agree with me that it was improper to ask English makers of wheels and axles to quote for such a quality of material as no English railway requires and then, without further communication with the English makers, to accept from an American firm such wheels as no English railway would allow to run on their line. But what about the Government official who, it is not denied, did this? Is his practically supreme authority to be maintained?

You say that the competition we have to face is founded on superior chemical research, technical education, etc., but what evidence have you of this?

If it were true, how do you account for the fact that the English maker is full of orders, while the American will undertake to deliver immediately at any price? Surely that is some evidence that the world outside Indian railway officials consider English engines and material better and in reality cheaper.

The official locomotive engineer reports of the Burma Railway say:—"They (the engines) show early signs of wear and want of strength, and that cheapness in first cost is not true economy."

The chief engineer of the Egyptian Railway reports that the Belgian engines cost £45 each less than the English, but that they had cost in repairs, for material alone, besides labour, £382 per engine more than the English, and adds:—"It will be readily understood how short-sighted has been the policy of accepting the lowest offer."

The latest official report of the Assam railways, dated April 16, 1901, says that the Baldwin engines take 24 per cent. more coal and 25 per cent. more oil than the English engines.

The excessive consumption of oil and fuel is, of course, the most conclusive proof of bad workmanship.

Here you have official reports from three independent sources. The Burma and Assam show that on account of their enormous consumption of fuel the foreign engines would be dear at a gift, and the Egyptian report, which comes to nearly the same conclusion, on account of the excessive repairs.

Yet you suggest that we should go to America to learn how to make engines!

I deny the "chemical research," but I will tell you one great advantage which the Continental and American manufactures have over ours. It is the system of what practically amounts to export bounties.

At a meeting of the Wire Nail Syndicate held recently at Cologne the prices fixed were about 10s. per cwt. for the home trade and 7s. to 7s. 6d. f.o.b. Rotterdam for the English market.

The official report of the German Wire Rod Syndicate shows that during the last half of 1900 they made a profit on the rods they sold at home of £2 12s. 6d. per ton, and a loss on those they sold abroad of £2 4s. 6d., an indirect but effective bounty of over 30 per cent.

The American engineer has a protected market, which enables him in the same way to make enormous profits at home, and even selling at a loss abroad, still to get a satisfactory return on his capital. I venture to assert with confidence that but for the 37 per cent. duty we should send more engines to America than they would send here.

The English Government stands supinely by and allows the sugar producers in our colony and the sugar refiners here to be ruined, and not only complacently contemplates other industries contending against bounties amounting to from 30 to 40 per cent., but allows our own orders to be given to our foreign competitors without even securing as good value for our money as we could get at home.

I must add a word about the Gohteih viaduct. Apart from Mr. Constable's allegations, the inspecting engineer reported that for two months he had had little or no time to inspect rivets, and when he did examine "he found the riveting not so good as formerly." This, it must be remembered, referred to the most important section of the bridge, a steel erection 320 feet high. It is not denied that the riveting was done by coolies wholly unaccustomed to the work, and, according to the statement of the chief engineer of the Irrawaddy Steamship Company, physically incapable of doing it.

Then Mr. Portman, a gentleman I have not the pleasure of knowing, writes to the "Morning Post" under date May 29 "that the statements made by Sir Alfred Hickman have been common knowledge in Burma for months past," and he adds, "I was informed by more than one engineer that one of the piers was "out of the true" and had sunk slightly. It rattles a good deal, they say it won't last long."

Mr. Constable himself had no object to serve by reporting against the work, and has sacrificed his whole official position, and has to begin his professional career again, because he refused to pass what he conscientiously believed to be bad work, and yet you refuse to afford him an opportunity of proving his statements on the assurance of gentlemen who have proved their partiality to the American Bridge Building Company by showing them in advance the private estimates of the projected bridge over the Irrawaddy, and who by every shift and contrivance have endeavoured to stave off the publication of the reports of their own engineers.

I am sure you will agree that while the question is one of vital importance, it would be impossible to thresh it out in the House of Commons or by newspaper discussion, and I, therefore, respectfully suggest the appointment of a small committee

to thoroughly investigate the subject, and report upon it to the House and to the country.

I am convinced that you yourself desire fair play at least for the British manufacturer, and I confidently appeal for your powerful assistance to ensure it.

I am, yours faithfully,

ALFRED HICKMAN.

The Right Hon. Lord George Hamilton, M.P.

BRITISH INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

In the course of a leading article the "Times of India" (May 18) writes:—

Natal, with its sixty or seventy thousand Indians, is, of course, as free as ever to follow its own line in dealing with immigrants and their descendants, and Mr. Chamberlain will no more be able to force the Colonial Government to change its attitude towards them than he has been in the past. But we may count upon influences both from without and from within to bring about an amendment. There is, to begin with, the admirably patriotic spirit in which Indian residents in Natal have behaved during the war. The Indian stretcher-bearer, whether he came straight from India, or was recruited in the labour market in Natal, has won golden opinions. The Mayor of Durban may, it is to be hoped, be regarded as having been the exponent of a changed and bettered feeling in Natal when he recently praised the loyalty of the Indian community, and told them that they were sons and daughters of the Empire. "Sons and daughters of the Empire" ought nowhere within the Empire to be treated as pariahs, and we seem to see the beginning of a better time for the Indian residents in Natal in these and similar declarations that have been made in the Colony. Natal policy, however, if it is not to be remoulded as fully as it might be under pressure of an improvement in the state of Natal opinion, will at least yield to the pressure of influence and example from outside. The Transvaal and Free State are about to pass to the status of Crown Colonies, and whatever authority may for years to come mould their laws, the hand that will ultimately determine the shape of these laws will be that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. If Asiatic labour is to be introduced into the new territories it will no longer be controlled as it has been in Natal, and, of course, in the Republics, by an authority over which the Colonial Office has no power. Downing Street may now determine to the remotest detail how Asiatic labour in the new territories shall be regulated. We cannot believe that when liberal labour laws have been enacted for the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, Natal, even if her heart were again to harden, would long resist the influence of the better example set her in the neighbouring colonies. It would be against her interest to do so, for she would thereby so reduce the chance of having her own labour requirements supplied. For this and other reasons it was a politic step on the part of the Natal Indians to approach an authority like Lord Harris, who came fresh from a study of the labour question in one of the most important parts of the African labour field. We have had lately, from the Chamber of Mines in Rhodesia, a very striking pronouncement in favour of Asiatic labour. The introduction of such labour has been declared to be a matter of the most vital importance to the future of Rhodesia in general, and of the mining industry in particular, and legislation has been asked for securing the importation, control, and return of Asiatic labourers. Vexatious and unnecessary restrictions upon such labour have been proposed, but short work must be made of these. The Colonial Office must think more than twice before it follows the lead of the Rhodesia mine-owners, and allows the cooping up of Indian labourers in compounds, and certain other offensive and unnecessary restraints upon the reasonable liberty of the miners. There are means in India of making widely known what the acceptance of the invitation to work in Rhodesian mines would mean, and once these means were resorted to, the mine-owners would find that they had done nothing to move the labour problem towards a solution. We look, however, to the coming legislation for the Transvaal to strike a new note, which shall not only make it in pleasant contrast with the Republic's illtreatment and oppression of Indian workers, but shall set an example to the rest of South Africa. Mr. Chamberlain has it in his power to show that when the Marquis of Lansdowne declared that none of the iniquities of the Boers so roused his indignation as their treatment of the Indians he was giving expression not only to a real feeling, but to a feeling that is shared by the whole Cabinet. And, as we have shown, much more than the well-being of Indian workers in the Transvaal itself may depend upon the character of the labour regulations introduced there.

THE LONDON INDIAN SOCIETY.

An ordinary meeting of the London Indian Society was held at Palace Chambers on Saturday last, at 3 p.m. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji presided. Mr. A. Das, vice-president of the society, opened a debate on "Indian Trade." He said that poverty was the greatest bar to India's advancement in trade. British capitalists encroached upon every Indian industry. He appealed to the present generation to utilise their time during their sojourn in England by learning different trades and commerce, as it was the best place for such purposes. Messrs. Amin, Kelkar, Wagle, Dr. Mullick, and Mr. Naoroji took part in the debate. Among those present were also Messrs. Gadjil, Ransingh, Mahmud, Raja Ram, N. Sen, Quinlan, and Mehta. A vote of thanks was proposed by Mr. Naoroji, seconded by Mr. Gadgil, to the secretaries and Dr. Mullick for the great success of the recent conference.

The "Investors' Review" writes (June 1):—A meeting of the Natives of India in this country, presided over by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, was held last week, to pass certain resolutions bearing upon the extreme poverty of India, the recurrence of famines, and the necessity for an extension of self-government. Also, the meeting took notice of the disabilities and hardships imposed upon Indians in South Africa, which are a considerable source of shame to us. The speeches made at the meeting were conspicuously moderate, and the resolutions seem to us very much to the purpose, but they will not be heeded by the India Office or the British people. Nothing will rouse us to the necessities of India, and the dangers threatening our dominion there through the systematic neglect of these necessities, except some catastrophe, whose occurrence may render it well nigh impossible for us to apply the true remedy. Our power to do good in India is measureless, but we neglect that power, and, fixing our ideal on military "glory" in emulation of the Assyrian or the Arab rather than of the Roman, we more and more spend the substance of India in ways that neither profit her nor us. Steadily the burden we impose upon the people is augmented until famine is not merely recurrent in the Peninsula, but chronic there. Why should not the Indian people have large measure of self-government? If they are well and justly ruled, to call them to our assistance would be to increase our hold upon the country. We cannot increase that hold by keeping the people down, by refusing them an effective share in the management of their own affairs. That system can only lead to the downfall of our power some day, and surely when our military promenading in South Africa has paralysed us to an extent that prevents us from maintaining the white army in India at its usual strength, or from renewing it in regular routine, we might bethink ourselves whether some permanent reduction in that force could be secured by drawing thoughtful Indians, and with them the mass of the people, more cordially to our side. This we can do by extending local self-government, but we may be sure no step of the kind will be taken. It is considered heresy, if not undiluted traitorism, by our modern Imperialists to hint at such a thing.

FACTS AND HALLUCINATIONS.—I.

"I do not for a moment doubt your wish to serve India, but to effectively perform any work of that kind facts must be faced and hallucinations dismissed."—Lord G. Hamilton to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, December 6, 1900.

THE HALLUCINATION:—

That the famine in India is a famine of food.

THE FACT:—

That the famine is a famine of money. "The supply of food," said Lord George Hamilton in the House of Commons, July 26, 1900, "is almost the least of the difficulties with which the Indian Government have to contend. There is always a sufficiency of food in the great continent of India, even in years of drought."

(To be Continued.)

PUBLIC MEETINGS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji will address a meeting in the Town Hall, Reading, on Wednesday next, June 12, convened by the Reading branch of the National Anti-Vivisection Society.

On Sunday morning next, June 9, at 11.30, Mr. G. K. Singh will deliver an address at the Brixton Discussion Forum (Raleigh College Hall, Saltoun Road, Effra Road), on "The Comparison of Religion Between West and East." Mr. G. P. Pillai will preside.

In the same place on June 30 Mr. Khazan Singh Suri will deliver an address on "Famines in India."

PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO INDIA.

To be obtained from
THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
84-85, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

Reports of the Proceedings at the Annual Sessions of the Indian National Congress, from the 3rd to the 14th Session. 2s. each, post free.

The Skeleton at the (Jubilee) Feast (Congress Green Book I.), by Sir WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, Bart. (being a series of suggestions for the prevention of famine in India). Post free, 7d.

Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure: Evidence-in-Chief of the Indian Witnesses. (Congress Green Book II.) Post free, 1s. 10d.

The Proposed Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions in India. Memorial to the Secretary of State. With two Appendices. (Congress Green Book III.) Post free, 1s. 2d.

Two Statements presented to the Indian Currency Committee (1898), by Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

Speech by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., in the House of Commons, August 14, 1894, on the Debate on the Indian Budget.

Ditto do. in the House of Commons, February 12, 1895, on the Debate on the Address.

Ditto do. on British Rule in India (1898).

Presidential Address by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., delivered to the Indian National Congress at Lahore, 1893.

Presidential Address by Mr. A. M. Bose, M.A., delivered to the Indian National Congress at Madras, 1898.

Speeches of Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., President of the Indian National Congress, 1894-5.

Valedictory Address of Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., delivered at Bombay, January 17, 1895.

Speeches of Mr. D. E. Wacha delivered at the 9th, 11th and 14th Sessions of the Indian National Congress.

Is the Government of India Responsible to Anyone, and if so to Whom? Speech delivered at Croydon by Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE.

The Famine in India. Speeches delivered at a Public Reception to Mr. Vaughan Nash on his return from the Famine Districts, July, 1900.

Mr. A. O. Hume's Farewell to India. Speech delivered at Bombay, 1894.

India Reform Pamphlet IX. The State and Government of India under its Native Rulers. 3d.

The Indian National Congress: its Aims and Justification. By ROBERT KNIGHT.

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A Needed Reform in the Indian Administration, by ROMESH C. DUTT, C.I.E.

The Bogey of a Russian Invasion. A Lesson from the Tirah Campaign, by Col. H. B. HANNA.

The High Courts and the Collector-Magistrates in India, by J. DACOSTA.

The Government of India and its Reform through Parliamentary Institutions, by J. DACOSTA.

Note on Sir J. Westland's Budget, 1894-5.

Note on the Explanatory Memorandum of the Secretary of State for India, 1894-5.

Note on Sir James Westland's Budget, 1895-6.

Note on Sir H. Waterfield's Tables, 1884-5 to 1894-5.

The Poor Man's Lamb: Famine Insurance for the Masses *versus* Exchange Compensation for the Classes.

REPRINTS FROM "INDIA."

The Judiciary and the Executive in India. Interview with Mr. Manomohan Ghose.

The Bombay Government and Higher Education, by the Hon. C. H. Setalved.

A National Famine Grant, Letter from the London Indian Society to Lord Salisbury, 1900.

India and the General Election (1900).

"Melancholy Meanness."

The "Over-population" Fallacy Again.

No National Contribution?

The "Slimness" of the India Office.

"Mainly a Question of Money."

A Selection of the Publications enumerated above will be forwarded to responsible persons or Associations in the United Kingdom for gratuitous distribution, on written application to the British Committee, Indian National Congress, 84-85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.

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